

Amye Robsart.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.*

I HAVE chosen for the subject of my paper this evening the story of "Amye Robsart," having observed upon former occasions, as now on this, that our Annual Meetings are honoured by the presence of many ladies: and though no one of them has hitherto stood boldly forward on the platform to demand "*Woman's archæological Rights*," still those rights exist, and should not be neglected. If the ladies are so kind as to listen to our more substantial dissertations, it is simply just, that they should be presented in turn with variety of entertainment agreeable to lighter appetites.

But how is Amye Robsart possibly to be connected with the archæology of Wiltshire?

In the first place: her story is certainly archæological, because it is very obscure; besides being to a certain extent of national interest, occupying as it does a rather conspicuous place in the domestic history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

In the next, though, strictly speaking, it belongs to Berkshire, and has been investigated with much pains by antiquaries of that county, it is nevertheless open to elucidation from any other quarter.

If then we have found any thing in our county of Wilts, to throw a little light upon it, Berkshire neighbours will not object: nor will a Wiltshire audience. I do not pretend to clear up the mystery entirely: but certainly am able to tell something about it, which nobody ever knew before. Some of the ladies present will very likely not thank me for any new discovery, preferring to abide by established illusions. Not that they would feel any real pleasure in riveting a fearful crime on Lord Robert Dudley's memory: but "Amye Robsart" is so touching, so pathetic a story as it stands,

* Read at the Meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, at Salisbury, Wednesday evening, 23rd August, 1876.

that they do not like to be robbed of it. Of the more horrible part, as commonly believed, it has indeed been long since deprived, and the more we can arrive at the real facts the better: because, though Great Britain is in itself very small, it is, in its name and influence, one of the most important countries in the world. Its history will be read more and more, as our language spreads: so that it seems only a duty on the part of those who have the means, to put our historical characters into as respectable a form as possible. This may, partly, be done by using *secret* history to remove the *false* impressions produced by *historical novels*.

"Amy Robsart" has obtained a world-wide celebrity, in Sir Walter Scott's novel of "Kenilworth." To say a word against so extraordinary a man may seem presumptuous: nevertheless it has been said, both of him and others, that historical novels are mortal foes to history, and most assuredly, never did any work of that kind so utterly confuse and contradict facts as does Sir Walter's "Kenilworth." It has also been stated that some of his most famous novels are losing their popularity; because, after the pleasing impression with which they were at first received has passed away, and Time has revealed that they are untrue and impossible, they naturally fall into some discredit. In our earlier days we devour such things. Afterwards, they become indigestible, simply because the history is so grossly perverted as to become almost ridiculous. You may say, "Well, but it is only a story, a novel," and that "novel-writers are not tied to strict veracity." The answer is, "If your personages and events are altogether fictitious, it does not in the least signify what they do or say; but if they are conspicuous figures in our national history, and they are made to say and do things which they not only never did, but which it is absolutely impossible that they ever could have done, and if the style is attractive and the incidents striking, this will leave upon the public mind, both at home and abroad, an impression which perhaps will never be effaced. Such misrepresentation is surely to be regretted." "*Kenilworth*" has been translated into many foreign languages, and probably every person who has read it, has ever afterwards lived under the fullest belief, not only that Amye Robsart died in the horrible manner

described, but that her death was directly sanctioned, at any rate connived at, by her husband, then Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Leicester.

I must just refresh your memory with one or two circumstances. On the death of King Edward VI., 6th July, 1553, John Dudley, first, Earl of Warwick, and then Duke of Northumberland, tried to put his own family on the throne by bringing forward Lady Jane Grey, whom he had married to one of his sons, Lord Guilford Dudley. Lord Robert Dudley was another of his sons : and Lord Robert was not only concerned in that plot, but is generally believed to have inherited his father's ambition, and to have had an eye to the throne himself as the husband of Queen Elizabeth. Having this object in view he was charged by certain writers with having stopped at nothing ; with having contrived poisonings, assassinations, and every kind of villainy. "If," says an author of later times (Dr. Drake) "he was guilty of half of what 'memoirs' charge him with, or even what foreign historians mention, he must have been master of greater cunning than any minister that this nation ever produced, either before or since, not only to have defended himself, but to have maintained his power and greatness to the last, under such an accumulation of guilt and envy."

Now I am under no sort of obligation, and am in no way concerned to be the champion of Robert Dudley, the celebrated Earl of Leicester, against all comers : and whether *other* accusations against him are true or false, does not come within the range of the present paper. It simply deals with some fresh evidence in *one* particular case, as supplied by certain documents at Longleat, which by the Marquis of Bath's kind permission are now lying on the table, open to your inspection.¹

Before we believe any of the stories in circulation against Lord Robert Dudley it is only fair to ask, Who were the authors of those stories ? As a general answer, they were his enemies in politics or in religion. This is clear from the fact of so many atrocities being raked together and put forth in all the bitterness that language could

¹ These will be found printed in the Appendix to this paper.

supply. To keep to my point; what are the authorities upon which Sir Walter Scott based his popular novel of Kenilworth? He tells us himself. The first is Mickle's very beautiful ballad, which begins:

"The dews of summer night did fall,
The Moon, sweet Regent of the sky,
Silver'd the walls of Cumnor Hall,
And many an oak that grew thereby."

His other authority (as stated by himself, at the end of the novel, when first published) was "Ashmole's Antiquities of Berkshire:" and, he adds, "the story is alluded to in many other works which treat of Leicester's history." As Sir Walter says nothing about having taken any trouble to inquire into the truth or probability of it, I suppose he believed it to be true. In a later edition of Sir Walter's novels there is a preface to Kenilworth, written by I know not whom, but it would seem by himself, in which (his novel having from the first encountered some censure) he qualifies the matter thus: "*If we can trust 'Ashmole's Antiquities of Berkshire' there was but too much ground for the tradition which charges Leicester with the murder of his wife.*" He then gives Ashmole's narrative at length.¹

Ashmole's so-called "Antiquities of Berkshire" is one of the most meagre of publications: he died 1692, one hundred and thirty-two years after Amye Robsart's death. His book was not published by himself, and consists of very little more than notes of epitaphs in Berkshire Churches which he had visited, and which notes were found among his papers, and were printed after his death. Among them was also found the story of Amye's death: but it had been merely *copied* from another authority. That other authority was a much older one called "Leicester's Commonwealth." This was one of the most virulent compilations that ever was put together, and

¹ Several writers upon this Cumnor story, *copying one from another*, have named our old Wiltshire friend, John Aubrey, as the *author* of the tale which Ashmole copied. I have not been able to find a single word about it in Aubrey's MSS. He has preserved many anecdotes and "*on dits*" of his own day: and many that came down to him by tradition; but for *this* he is not answerable—so far as I know.

was written, it was said, by Father Parsons, the Jesuit: at least if not by himself, by himself and company. It was circulated only in MS. for many years, but upon being printed in 1584, four years before Dudley's death, was publicly proclaimed by the Privy Council to be an infamous and scandalous libel. . Such (to trace things to their source) is the authority on which "Kenilworth" is founded.

To recapitulate, for a moment or two, the outlines of the novel. Dudley, having married Amye Robsart early in life, afterwards finds the marriage inconvenient, so puts her away under vigilant and designing villains, Tony Foster and Varney, who understood that they were to get rid of her somehow. But, says this most veracious historical novel, after she became "Countess of Leicester," hearing of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth Castle, and the splendid entertainment going on there, all significant of Dudley's future nuptials with the Queen, the "Countess of Leicester" escapes from Cumnor, arrives in a sort of disguise at Kenilworth Castle, and has a touching interview with the Queen, who falls into a furious passion upon finding that the Earl of Leicester was married. It is not worth while to go into detail, but Amye is persuaded by Leicester to return to Cumnor, he promising to come and see her as soon as the Revels are over. So to Cumnor poor Amye returns, attended by the two villains, who presently dispose of her in the horrible manner with which the tale concludes. She is shut up in an isolated tower, which is approached only by a narrow drawbridge. Midway in the floor of the drawbridge is a trap-door, so contrived that the first person who should step upon it would be precipitated into what the novelist describes as a "sable gulph, an abyss dark as pitch and profoundly deep." After a certain time the villain Varney, pretending to arrive as the expected husband, rides into the court-yard, dismounts, gives the husband's peculiar call—a whistle—Amye rushes out, steps on the trap-door—and all is over. "Look down into the vault," says Varney to Foster, "what seest thou?" "I see only a heap of white clothes, like a snow-drift," said Foster, "Oh God! she moves her arm!" "Hurl something down upon her. Thy gold chest, Tony, it is a heavy one."

A more thrilling narrative never was penned. Founded upon this

tale we have had several kinds of public spectacles. There was the melodrama of "*Amy Robsart*," performed for a whole season before thousands upon thousands. It has been, I am told, repeated at the Polytechnic, in Dissolving views! There is also a French play, for the edification of our neighbours, to teach them, I suppose, the facts of English History. Now, spectacles of this kind, got up with every sort of effective dramatic scenery, make an impression upon the sight-seeing mind which is never forgotten. If 100,000 people *saw* the interview between Amye Robsart and Queen Elizabeth represented on the London stage, upon the authority of the great Sir Walter Scott; well—I am sorry to undeceive them—but most certain it is, that they shed their tears, and paid their money, all for nothing: for no such interview ever took place. But against 100,000 who "*saw it and paid for it*," what chance or opportunity has Truth to put in a word?

Sir Walter Scott's gross anachronisms, *i.e.*, his confusion and misplacing of dates, events, and persons, were of course immediately noticed by critics at the time of the publication of his novel: and since that time, several writers, especially Mr. Bartlett, of Abingdon, the late Mr. Pettigrew, a well-known archæologist, and still later, Mr. Adlard, of New York, have pointed out a great many exaggerations and false statements in the received account of Amye's death; and have defended Dudley against the charge of causing her to be murdered. But whilst thousands see the false history on the stage, not one in a thousand ever hears of the correction. Mr. Pettigrew's paper on the subject was read before the British Archæological Society, in 1859, and was printed separately. In his account, as well as in the others, are some points, on which I can now supply a little information that is quite new.

I will therefore briefly touch upon a few points in the story, just to shew the difference between the current belief and the real facts. My proofs are the documents now lying on the table.

1.—THE MARRIAGE.

Owing to the confusion of romance and history the real facts are scarcely distinct. I have been asked, "Was Amye the lawful wife of Lord Robert Dudley?" Of that there is no doubt. She was

the only daughter and heir (her brother Arthur, mentioned afterwards being illegitimate) of Sir John Robsart, a knight of Norfolk, of lineage older than that of the Dudley family.¹ Her mother, Lady Robsart, had been married before, to a Mr. Appleyard, of a very old Norwich family: and by him she had a son John Appleyard, Amye's half-brother, whose name I beg you to bear in mind. Robert Dudley, "Esquyer," and Amye were married when quite young (she about 18, and he about 19 years of age) in A.D. 1550, fourth year of King Edward VI. The proofs of their marriage are these. There is among the Records in London a settlement on the *lady's* side, by Sir John Robsart, the father, dated 15th May 1550. There is at Longleat a deed of settlement on the *husband's* side: which document I now produce (*Appendix I.*). It is dated 24th May, 1550: and runs thus: "Between John, Earl of Warwick, K.G., of the one part, and Sir John Robsart, Kt., on the other part: witnesseth that they are fully agreed that a marriage shortly after the ensembling hereof, shall be had and solemnized between Robert Duddleley, Esq., one of the younger sons of the said Erle, and Amye Robsart, daughter and heir apparaunte to the said Sir John Robsart, if the said Robarte and Amye will thereunto condescend and agree:" and then continues, about lands, &c. These two documents were settlements, in May, 1550, on the intended marriage. The marriage itself took place on 4th June, 1550, at Sheen, in Surrey, in the presence of the Court: and King Edward VI., then only eleven years old, who kept a little diary (now preserved in the British Museum), mentions it, and has also added a peculiar performance among the festivities of the occasion, which seems to have particularly taken his juvenile fancy. "1550. June 4. Sir Robert Dudeley, third sonne to th' Erle of Warwick, married S. Jon. Robsartes daughter, after wich mariage, ther were certain gentlemen that did strive who shuld first take away a goose's head which was hanged alive on two cross posts." The marriage was therefore not in any way clandestine, but public and notorious as possible.

¹ She is believed to have been born at Stansfield Hall, Norfolk, a house which belonged to her father, and which some years ago obtained a horrible notoriety from being the scene of the murder of the Jermyn Family by Rush.

There are at Longleat several documents dated *after* the marriage in which they are both mentioned : but I did not think it necessary to bring them all. One only is here, being a grant of the manor of Hemsby, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk, by his father, John, then Duke of Northumberland, to his son, Lord Robert Dudley, and “the Lady Amie *his wife*.” (*Appendix II*).

Their married life lasted rather more than ten years, from 4th June, 1550, to 8th September, 1560. The few particulars of it recovered from these papers will be mentioned presently. We return to the difference between the received story and the real facts.

2.—AMYE NEVER AT KENILWORTH.

It was mentioned just now that thousands of worthy sight-seers have paid their money and shed their tears, over the touching interview between the “Countess of Leicester” and Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth—all for nothing : simply because no such interview ever took place—except at Covent Garden Theatre. The reason is, that *Kenilworth Castle* where the *Earl* received the Queen, *did not belong to him at all during Amye’s life*. She died 1560. The Queen gave Kenilworth to “*Lord Robert*” in June 1563. Sir Walter Scott might have easily known that from Warwickshire county history. The original Letters Patent, dated 20th June, 1563, by which the Queen gave it, are at Longleat : a very fine deed illuminated with a portrait of Queen Elizabeth and flowered border, but it is very large and long, and beyond the limits of a carpet bag. I have however brought an equally sufficient evidence : which is the Original Warrant from the Queen to deliver to Dudley possession of the Castle. (*Appendix VII*.)

This is an interesting document : being Queen Elizabeth’s authority to six gentlemen, named, to go to Kenilworth, and take possession on behalf of Lord Robert. The formal delivery is endorsed, dated 29th June, and it is attested by the signatures of no less than sixty-four witnesses. One may easily conceive that half the town of Kenilworth would pour out, with the laudable desire of seeing their fine old castle handed over to the great favourite of the day. But where was Amye? She had been in her grave nearly three years, since September, 1560.

3.—AMYE NEVER "COUNTESS OF LEICESTER."

For the same reason, she never was, as Scott calls her, "Countess of Leicester:" Dudley not having been created Earl of Leicester until *after* the grant of Kenilworth Castle. The patent of creation is dated 29th September, 1563, rather more than three years after her death. During her life he was "Sir R. Dudley, Kt., commonly called Lord Robert;" and she "Amye, Dame or Lady, Dudley."

4.—SIR RICHARD VARNEY.

I come next to speak of the delusion about "Varney," one of the leading "villains" of the novel. In the melodrama of "Amy Robsart," this worthy appears in the costume of a brigand, wrapped up in the regulation bandit cloak, with his arms folded, and a most sinister countenance duly provided with dark eye-brows and piercing eyes. He is placed at a further corner of the stage, scowling askance at his poor victim, as if he were thirsting for the moment to spring, like a tiger, upon her. It must be exquisitely ridiculous to any person knowing the truth to sit and see such nonsense. An archæologist, looking round upon the spectators, would sigh with pity for the hundreds of simple folk who watch the proceedings with the deepest interest, not having the slightest idea that they are gulled and misled by the whole representation. Well, but what is the real history of Varney, the scowling brigand in the regulation cloak? The late Mr. Pettigrew, in the pamphlet to which I have referred, says: "Of Sir Richard Varney I can ascertain no particulars. He is mentioned, in no measured terms, as an instigator to baseness, as the chief prompter to the murderous design, and as having been left with a manservant, an underling, and Anthony Foster, to effect the diabolical business. We know nothing of Varney, save the mention of him in Ashmole's narrative, drawn by the Jesuit in '*Leicester's Commonwealth*,' and by the very important part he is made to play in the novel of *Kenilworth*. His name does not occur in any authentic documents connected with Sir Robert Dudley or Amye Robsart, *nor, indeed, does he appear to have had any real existence.*"¹

¹The italics are so marked by myself

Here Mr. Pettigrew was at fault. I discovered among the papers at Longleat a letter dated from Warwick, 20th April, 1560 (six months before Amye's death), addressed "To the Rt. honourable and my verry good lorde, the lorde Robert Dudley, Mr. of th' horses to the Quene's Majestie at Court," signed "RICHARD VERNEY."

The name, of course, caught my attention; and the next thing was to find out, if possible, something about the writer. The letter itself was of the common kind from one friend and gentleman to another; referring to the loss of some favourite hawks of Dudley's which had been entrusted to the care of one of the writer's servants, and which had been unfortunately mismanaged. So there was nothing to help me in the letter itself. But luckily the *seal*, not in wax but on wafer, was preserved, and the device was an antelope with long horns. On examining it closely with a glass, I observed that the animal's *tail* ended not with the usual single tuft of hair, but in a *tripartite finish*, something like a fleur-de-lis. The letter being dated from Warwick, I immediately turned to Dugdale's History of that county, and found on reference to the name of Verney, an engraved plate of a monumental coat of arms, the two supporters to which were two antelopes with the peculiar tripartite caudal finish. At Longleat is a parchment deed signed by the same Richard Verney, where the seal is preserved in wax, and presents the same peculiarity. This identified the family of the writer of the letter, who, in short, turned out to be Sir Richard Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, a family now represented, and place occupied by his descendant, Lord Wiltoughby de Broke. Lord Robert Dudley himself was a Warwickshire man. He had already property in that county (before Kenilworth was given to him), from his father: and Sir Richard Verney was a neighbour and friend, of whom I am not able to discover any thing but what is perfectly respectable. For example, I produce a letter to Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Queen's Horse, from Sir Ambrose Cave, one of the Queen's Ministers, and M.P. for Co. Warwick, written 16th July, 1559, a year before Amye's death. Certain commissioners were wanted for the county: and Sir Ambrose, writing in the name of the Council, says: "And whereas for the execution of the charge committed unto us we resolved of certain

gentlemen to be officers unto us as Mr. Fisher for one who cannot well take it upon him, in whose stead Sir Richard Varney a gentleman meet to serve in that behalf, wold willingly endeavour himself¹ for Warwickshire, if it plesed you to appoint or require him by your letters to take the chardge upon him. Thus leaving to trouble your Ldship any further at this tyme I commit you to God who send you increase of honour. Your good Lordships to command, Ambrose Cave." This is scarcely the vein in which a Minister of State would write about a brigand in a cloak, waiting to stain his hands in a miserable murder.

In the novel you will recollect, that Varney is disposed of in a manner that is no doubt highly satisfactory to the reader. He is found next morning dead in his cell: having swallowed a dose of poison. That of course was, what it *should* have been, but not as it *was*. For behold, next year, 1561 (the year after her death), this same scowling brigand in the cloak, who had been found dead in his cell, is filling the dignified office of Her Majesty's High Sheriff for the county of Warwick. He survived the "poison" seven years, dying 26th July, 1567.

4.—TONY FOSTER.

I have now another character to introduce, with whom you are no doubt most accurately acquainted by the help of Sir Walter Scott. What is your opinion, Ladies, of Tony Foster? He is described as a cruel hard-hearted miserly curmudgeon, so clumsily built as to border on deformity. He also has keen dark eyes and rugged brows, with a most unprepossessing countenance, is dressed in leather,

¹ "*To endeavour himself for;*" i.e., to consider himself bound, to undertake for. So in the Prayer Book, collect for Second Sunday after Easter, "also daily *endeavour ourselves:*" in the Preface to the Confirmation service, "they will evermore *endeavour themselves,*" and in the Ordination service, "I will *endeavour myself* so to do." In all these instances in the Prayer Book the words are often read with a pause between "endeavour" and "themselves," as if the meaning were that they would—"themselves, do their best," &c. The mistake is a very pardonable one, the modern use of the word endeavour being simply "to try." Nor is there in the English translation of the Bible any other sense of the word. It is in the Prayer Book only that the obsolete use is retained.

with a long knife on one side and a cutlass on the other : in short, a compound of jailer, hangman and butcher. He too, meets with his reward in a way that is quite charming. " When the alarm was given, the murderers fled and Tony wholly disappeared. Many years afterwards, in making some researches about Cumnor Hall, the eldest son and heir [who, by the way, never existed] discovered a secret passage closed by an iron door, descending to a cell : in which they found an iron chest containing a quantity of gold, and a human skeleton stretched above it. The fate of Anthony Foster was now manifest. He had fled to this place of concealment, forgetting the key of the spring-lock : and being barred from escape, he had there perished miserably. The groans and screams which had been heard were not wholly imaginary, but were those of this wretch who in his agony, was crying for relief and succour." So half the world believes to this day. Now for the real facts.

Anthony *Forster*, or *Forrester*, Esq., was of an old Shropshire family, settled in Berkshire. His wife was Ann, neice of Lord Williams of Thame, Lord High Chamberlain in the reign of Philip and Mary. Mr. Forster rented Cumnor Hall of the Owen family, to whom it belonged, and was tenant of it at the time of Amye Robsart's death, but purchased it soon after. His children all died. He was highly esteemed as a most honest gentleman, by his neighbours at Abingdon. He was sometimes sent for by the University of Oxford to assist in settling matters of controversy. He was a cultivator of the fine arts, a musician, a builder, a planter, and towards the close of his life was returned to Parliament for the Borough of Abingdon. In Cumnor Church there is a large brass plate to his memory, a rubbing of which I now exhibit. It has, from the accompaniment of coats of arms all the marks of gentility. He had always been a personal friend of Lord Robert Dudley's and when Dudley was promoted to great honour, Mr. Forster was not only the principal receiver of his income, but was one of the chief controllers of the expense of a very stately and magnificent establishment. For with all his magnificence, the Earl of Leicester's household and other expenses were kept in the most precise and careful manner. At Longleat, there are some of the Inventories of his furniture,

dresses, &c., in large folio volumes, beautifully written. All bills were duly examined, and payments registered. Among many of similar kind I show one which is simply a butcher's account : but it is drawn out almost with the solemnity of a State paper, and signed by five of the household officers. (*Appendix*, VIII.)

The Earl was remarkable for his costly wardrobe. The practise was, for the materials to be supplied to the taylor, or embroiderer, by the mercer or other tradesman. The orders to the tradesmen were all issued by the chief officer of the wardrobe : and I now exhibit to you out of a box at Longleat a bundle of such orders, filed exactly as they were left by Mr. Forster. (*Appendix*, IX.) Every one of these is signed by Anthony Forster, in the year 1566, *i.e.*, *six years* after the said Tony had been starved to death and had been found in the very uncomfortable position of a skeleton stretched upon an iron chest in a secret cell at Cumnor Hall.

I have also an original letter (*Appendix*, X.) from the Earl of Leicester to A. Forster, relating to furniture at Kenilworth Castle : containing special orders about costly hangings for the dining-chamber, specifying the very width and height ; with directions for sufficient store of spicery and fireworks against "my chiefest day : " also instructions for a banqueting room to be got up quickly, with peremptory orders for all to be on the alert. It ends : " So fare you well, Antony ; in much haste, your loving Master, R. Leycester." I thought at first this letter referred to the preparations for the great reception of Queen Elizabeth ; but that was in 1575 : and A. Forster had died in 1569. It refers to a visit of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The precise year is not important, but whenever it was, here we have our skeleton Tony alive and well, and clothing his bare bones with the good things of Kenilworth Castle, several years after, to our great satisfaction, we had heard him screaming himself to death in the dungeon at Cumnor Hall !

Having now shewn you in a few instances how widely the current belief differs from the real facts, I come to grapple with the main part of the story. I must ask you to dismiss from your minds altogether the title of Earl of Leicester, and the name of Kenilworth,

because *both were utterly unknown to Amye Robsart*. We must go back, if you please, to the beginning of her married life, 1550, which (as already said) lasted for ten years.

All the older narratives have begun with telling us that their married life was an unhappy one : and one of our historians says that they lived apart and she in a lonely house. That is just the way to prepare the reader's mind for a violent conclusion : but where is the evidence that their married life was from the first, or indeed ever, an unhappy one ? There was absolutely none : for until a very little while ago, *nothing whatever was known about their married life*. The little we do know will, as I hope to prove, exhibit them as living on the best footing. And as to their living apart, and she in a lonely house, that also shall be explained. It only applies to the last year or two, and the house was anything but lonely. Where they first lived is not known. Perhaps in Norfolk, where their property lay : possibly in London, because this was in Edward the Sixth's time, and Lord Robert was one of the Gentlemen in ordinary in the Household. After Edward the Sixth's death, July, 1553, Dudley certainly was in London, but against his will and under unpleasant circumstances : for he had joined (as mentioned above) in the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne : for which Queen Mary sent him to the Tower. He was convicted of high treason ; all his estates, wife's and all, were forfeited : and he had a very narrow escape from sharing his father's fate on Tower Hill. The Princess Elizabeth (afterwards Queen) was at the same time lodged in the Tower by her sister, Queen Mary, for State reasons. Robert Dudley remained in custody half-a-year, till January, 1554. Several other noblemen of his party were also prisoners : but their wives were allowed to visit them from time to time. Among the ladies whose names are mentioned as so doing, is that of Amye, Lady Dudley : so that, so far, in the fourth year of marriage, there is no sign of estrangement. On receiving his pardon, he was released, and his estates, including his wife's, were restored to him. This was through the influence of Philip of Spain, the husband of Queen Mary : in return for which Robert Dudley offered his services to Philip, who sent him off to the Continent to fight against the French.



Letter from Amy Richart Lady Dudley to M^r Flowerdew
about selling Wool at Wythorne, Co Norfolk [Harl. MS. 112]

in forwardne I understand by gylfe y^e you have
given me remembrance of y^e you spake to me of
confermyng y^e gylfe of seayn shipe at Wythorne /
althow I forgot to move my lord the first before
his departing he hath sore troubled wth many
affair & I not being all together wth you for
his soden departing yet not wth standing how many
your accustomed frend shipe towards my lord
& me, ~~for the same~~ I neither may nor
can deny you y^e requeste wth my lord's absence
of myne owne motorye y^e & y^e war & g^o return
matter ab if any good occasyon may serve you so
me me deservyng you furder y^e you will make
full of y^e wolle so soon as y^e possible althow
you sell y^e for wth the same or ab you wolde
sell for your self for my lord to comfyt
requerd me at his departing to se how you
were satisfied at thow y^e his bene & matter
dependyng upon y^e wherefore I fore not to
sustaine & littell loss thow to satisfy my
lord's desyer & so to send y^e money to
y^e gylfe house to London by crydwell to
whom my lord hath given order for
y^e paymte therof & that I cude all waye
troublyng you / sayyng y^e occasyon maye
serve me to requyte you wth all y^e time /
I must pray you wth thankes & so to god
I leave you from in hand this by of
dwyghe

To my deare frend
m^r Flowerdew the
elder gent^l

Your affined during
Iff Anne Dudley

How long he was abroad I know not: but his wife would of necessity be left at home. We lose sight of them entirely for three years, if not more, but at the end of that time she re-appears: in a letter written from herself, which for a long time was the only one known to be in existence.

That letter is preserved in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 4712). [A *fac-simile* is annexed.] It refers only to a comparatively trifling matter, but it is really very useful in revealing to us, most *in-artificially*, what her domestic position was in the seventh or eighth year of marriage. It is dated 7th August, no year being named: but as it refers to their farm at Sydisterne, in Norfolk, it could not have been written before 1557, because that property did not come into their hands (as is known from deeds) before that year. I think however that it must have been written still later, and in the first or second year of Queen Elizabeth, 1558 and 1559: because it speaks of Dudley's being called away on weighty business. The substance of it is this: Sydisterne was a large sheep-farm with 3000 sheep upon it: and their agent or steward was a Mr. Flowerdew. He had written to Dudley about some of the farm affairs, and particularly about some poor people who were waiting for some money. Lord Robert had been called off in a hurry, without answering that letter: so the steward writes a second time, and the second letter comes into Amye's hands. She sends a courteous apology to the agent for his first not having been answered, explains the reason, and *having full authority* to settle all matters, she orders him to sell some wool, even at a loss, so as not to keep the poor people waiting any longer for their money.¹

¹ In order to assist the reader in deciphering the *fac-simile* the text of it is subjoined:—

“Mr. flowardue I vnderstand by gryse * y^t you put hym in remembrance of y^t you spake to me of consarnyng y^egoyng of sertayne shepe at systorne / & althowe I forgot to moue my lorde therof before his departyng he beyng sore trubeled w^t wayty affares / & I not beyng all to gether in quyet for his soden departyng yet not w^t standyng knowing

* Grise was a steward, whose name appears in the account books. He had ceased to be so, before 22nd December, 1559.

Now it is a perfectly fair question to ask, Is there any sign of *estrangement* between husband and wife in the contents of this letter of Amye's? There is none at all. On the contrary, is it every wife

your acostomed fryndshype towardes my lorde
& me / [*Some words erased, now illegible.*] I nether may nor
can deney you y^t requeste in my lordes absence
of myne owne awtoryte ye & yt war A gretar
matter / as if any good occasyon may serve you so
trye me deseeryng you furdar y^t you wyll make
salle of y^e wolle so sone as ys possyble althowe
you sell yt for Vs. the stone or as you wolde
sell for your sealf for my lorde so ernystly
requered me at his departyng to se thosse pore
men satysfyed as thowe yt had bene A matter
dependyng uppon lyff wherfore I force not to
sustayne A lyttell losse therby to satysfy my
lordes desyer & so to send y^t mony to
grysses house to london by brydwel to
whom my lorde hathe gewen order for
y^e pamente therof / & thus I ende all waye
trobelyng you / wyssyng y^t occasyon maye
serve me to requyte you untill y^t time /
I must pay you w^t thanks / & so to god
I leve you frome M^r. heydes this vij of
Awgusto

Your assured duryng
lyff AMYE DUDDLEY."

[*Addressed*]

"To my veary frynd
M^r. flowerdwe the
ellder gewe this." *

* Mr. Adland of New York, who wrote a volume about Amye Robsart, appears (p. 23) to doubt whether the letter in the British Museum, about Sydisterne (the only one which had been seen by him) was really in her own handwriting, even as to the signature: simply because the name is spelled "Duddley," and not "Duddeley," as her husband, and (as Mr. Adlard says) "all the rest of the family," wrote it. But all the rest of the family did not do so. Some did and some did not. There are examples of both at Longleat, and in page 105 of his own book Mr. Adlard gives a letter from John, the father of Lord Robert, who writes himself, "Dudley." Names were not spelled uniformly in those days, even by members of the same family. Sir Henry, father of Sir Philip, writes "Sydney:" the son, "Sidney." In the Pembroke family one Earl writes himself "Penbroke." Mr. Adlard admits the letter to be original, but probably written by a clerk or secretary, signature and all. That all was certainly written by one and the same person is evident upon close examination. The capital A in the *signature* of the Longleat letter is the same used in the word "as" in the *second line*. The "y" and "d" of the signature also correspond with those used in the body of the letter. It seems rather straining a point to suppose that the wife of Lord Robert Dudley could not write her own name: and if she wrote that, she certainly wrote the whole letter.

The handwriting has, it is true, the look of such as might be used by an amanuensis, bred in an office. It may have been so: but it should be remembered that the handwriting of ladies in former times was as unlike as possible to that of our own time. It was large and masculin e. See, for example, in "Phillips's Autograph Album," at p. 39, the writing of Margaret of Lancaster; at p. 226, that of Anne Boleyn; both quite of the same style as Amye Robsart's. King Henry VIII. (p. 226) and others also, used the same character,

who would venture to sell the wool, even at a loss, in her husband's absence? I trow not. So that I claim the evidence of poor Amye's letter as proving that she was a good managing trustworthy little wife, and that the much abused Lord Robert Dudley, so far from being estranged from her, left her at full discretion to deal with domestic matters when he was away: and this, please to remember, in the seventh or eighth year of their short married life of ten years.

But I have not done with this letter. It is dated, not from any place in Norfolk, nor from London: but from "Mr. Hyde's," without saying where that was; which of itself implies that the steward to whom it was written knew well enough. Now this Mr. Hyde's house was at Denchworth, a few miles from Abingdon in Berkshire, and not many miles from Cumnor, though, observe, that with Cumnor they have had nothing to do yet. Mr. Hyde's brother, William, was at this time M.P. for the Borough of Abingdon: so that there is no doubt of the respectability of this family. Now I find, and will prove to you, that Amye, Lady Dudley, resided a great deal at this Mr. Hyde's: and was constantly visited there by her husband, coming and going to and fro: which throws a light upon the state of affairs.

Queen Elizabeth had come to the throne, 17th November, 1558: when Robert Dudley's star was in the ascendant. He had been nobody in Queen Mary's reign: but he was of the same side as Elizabeth in matters of religion: he had been her playfellow in childhood and her fellow-prisoner in the Tower. She immediately appointed him Master of the Horse, and K.G. This in the first year of her reign. The office of Master of the Horse was one which demanded his continual attendance in London. No one journeyed about more than Queen Elizabeth, and, go where she would, the Master of the Horse was obliged to go with her. If you refer to the published accounts of the Queen's Progresses, there is always a great horseback cavalcade, and the Master of the Horse, in close attendance, riding a little in rear of Her Majesty. Now as Amye had no children, it appears to me probable, that, instead of living alone in apartments in London, she preferred living with friends in the country, and for that reason staid at Mr. Hyde's. She might have disliked, as many ladies did, the

life of the Court. I have met with letters of that period, from ladies of the highest rank, expressing their great weariness with its state and formalities, begging their husbands to come back for economy's sake as soon as they could : at any rate not to drag *them* up to London. But whilst Amye was so staying at Mr. Hyde's, she was only under his roof as a visitor and friend : she was perfectly at liberty to go to London or wherever else she liked. She used (as I will show you) that liberty, and she had suitable means provided for her so doing by her husband.

I have here two folio account books, kept, one by Mr. William Chaucy, Lord Robert's secretary or steward, beginning 20th Dec. 1558, the first year of Elizabeth's reign : and a year-and-a-half only before Amye's death ; the other by Mr. Richard Ellys, of about the same time. Mr. Chaucy begins by a statement of monies received into his hands, the first item of which is £300 from Mr. Anthony Forster, Lord Robert's Treasurer. Then follow, *per contra*, all the payments made. I have gone through this account book, and have extracted everything I could see that refers to Amye, Lady Dudley. (See *Appendix*, III.) Examine the items and multiply their amounts by six or seven (at the very least), to express present value—and you be will able to say whether they convey to your mind any symptoms of restraint or neglect.

The other account book (Richard Ellys's) refers to 1560, the last year of her life, but I have not met in it with any other items than a few which refer to the expense of her funeral. There is however a mercer's bill (six months before her death) :—

					£	s.	d.
1560.	March.	Delyvered a velvet hatt imbroidered for my Ladye	..	..	3	6	8
		Pair of velvet shoes for my Ladye	..	..	..	3	0 0

In the account books the dates of month and day are not always given, so that I cannot distinguish exactly which of them refer to her whilst she was lodging with the Hyde family, at Denchworth, and which to her later residence at Cumnor. But it is evident that she was *under no restraint*, for we find her journeying about, to Lincolnshire, London, Suffolk, Christchurch in Hampshire and Camberwell, *twelve horses being at her command*.

CUMNOR.

It cannot have been much before the very last year of her life that she removed from Mr. Hyde's, at Denchworth, to Cumnor Place, about eleven miles off. It is quite intelligible that she might have found it more convenient to have a house in which she would be more of the mistress than would be the case whilst staying at a friend's; and it seems unreasonable to suppose that if her husband had any evil design upon her life, he would have placed her in a house *only a few miles from her most intimate friends*. Cumnor was a large building, quadrangular, and of ecclesiastical style, having formerly belonged to the dissolved monastery of Abingdon. It was not lonely, for it was close to a large village: and it had plenty of inmates: Mrs. Owen (the proprietor), Mr. Forster and his wife, (the tenants), Lady Dudley, Mrs. Odingsell a widow, sister of Mr. Hyde, perhaps a companion to Lady Dudley. Mr. Forster purchased the house after Amye's death: and what is curious, by his will he left the refusal of it to Dudley, on condition of his paying the widow Forster £1200. Dudley actually bought it, for I found it entered as his property in a schedule of his estates.¹ It is hardly likely that if he had caused his wife to be put to death there he would have had much care to *buy* the house. He would rather, one would have thought, have preferred never to hear the name of it again. Besides the ladies I have mentioned as being in the house, there was a Mrs. Pinto, (her own maid,) and a number of servants. Mr. Forster resided there, but I have not met with any notice in these documents of Sir Richard Verney, the brigand in the cloak, residing there at all: and it seems not very likely that he would, having lands and a residence of his own in Warwickshire. In all the arrangements, *so far as appears from these original papers*, there is no sign or token of preparation for any dark act of villainy.

And now having shown you several interesting original documents relating to this history, I have to produce one which is not likely to

¹ It was afterwards sold by Dudley to the Norris family (Earl of Abingdon). In a schedule of Dudley property, at Longleat, is this entry:—

"A counterpart of the sale of Cumnor, &c., from Robert, Erle of Leicester, to Henrie Le Norris, dated 15 Feb. Ao. 16 Eliz." (Schedule, p. 120.)

be less interesting than the others; being a letter from Amye herself. It was only by the greatest chance I did not overlook it; because among thousands of papers of every size and sort, it happened to be *pinned inside another paper*, the other paper being a woman's-taylor's bill, which the woman's-taylor, Mr. Edney, had sent in, after Amye's decease, to Lord Robert. The letter therefore does not treat of state matters, nor of politics, nor of religion, nor of any unhappy condition she was in, but of a very simple and appropriate subject—*a new gown!*

Amye, Lady Dudley's letter to her Taylor.

"edney w^t my harty comendations thesse shalbe
to desier you to take y^e paynes for me As
to make this gowne of vellet* whiche I sende
you w^t suche A collare as you made my
rosset taffyta gowne you sente ~~my~~^{me} last
& I will se you dyscharged for all I pray
you let it be done w^t as muche speade
as you can & sente by this bearrar
frewen the carryar of oxforde / & &
thus I bed you most hartely fare well
from comnare this xxiiij of avguste
Your assured frind

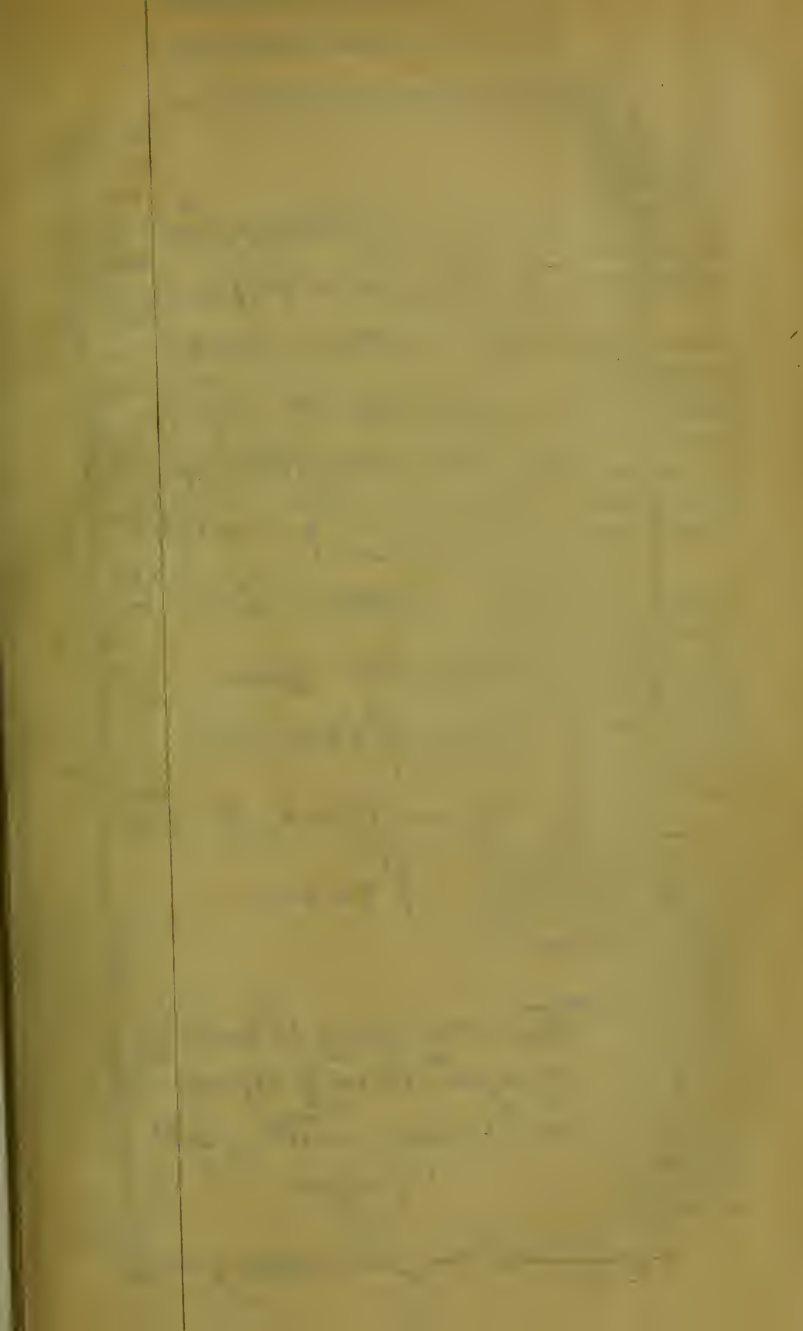
AMYE DUDDLEY."

"To my very frinde will
yam / edney the taylor
at^{y^e} tower^a rill geve
this
in London." †

Among other items of this poor lady's wardrobe were "a loose gown of satten byassed with lace over the garde," "a round kirtle of russet wrought-velvet with a fringe;" "a Spanish gown of damask, laced all thick athwart the guard;" "a Spanish gown of russet damask;" "a loose gown of *rosset taffata*" (the pattern alluded to in the letter). Also lace, fringes of black silk and gold,

* "*Vellet*," in the letter, is used by Spenser, for *velvet*. Chaucer, has *velloute*. Ben Jonson, *vellute*, probably from the Latin *villosus*, hairy or woolly.

† Tower *Royal*, near Bucklersbury and the Mansion House, London. Stowe says the Queen's wardrobe was there, and that it had been a strong residence occupied by *Royalty*, afterwards turned into shops. Others derive it from the merchants of *La Reole*, who established themselves there, and that the street was called *La Reole*.



Edney to my hartly comendations these shalbe
to desier you to take y^e paynt for me &
to make this gowne of velvet which I sende
you wth such a collare as you made my
rossit fasseta gowne you sente ^{me} ~~my~~ Last
C^c I will be you dyscharged for all I pray
you let it be done wth as much speed
as you can & sente by this bearer
frewen the carrier of oxford / C^c
thnd I bid you most hartely farewell
from cominre this xxiiij of auguste

To my very frinde will
y^eam / edney the tapler
at ^{the} tower will gene
this

your assured frind
Amye Dudley

in London

ruffs, collars, and the like. I mention these matters, merely to observe that, as to dress, she appears to have been liberally supplied with the finery of the day: *no sign of parsimony in her apparel*. Also because all this must have been during her Cumnor life, one of the last items having been, of necessity, incurred after her death, viz: "a mantle of cloth for the chief mourner." (For the whole bill see *Appendix*, No. IV.)¹

Upon this letter, which, for some reason or other, appears to have been kept by Edney the woman's taylor, and delivered, together with his bill, to the auditors of Lord Robert's accounts, the single remark I venture to make is: that the "*charges*" for "*making-up*," in A.D. 1560, even when multiplied six or seven times, contrast, as I am assured by competent judges, very favourably with those presented by the woman's-taylors of A.D. 1876. This is now the second letter from her known to exist.

It was whilst she was living at Cumnor during the last year of her life, perfectly free from restraint, so far as appears from the documents before us, that the Court, and indeed the whole country, began to be filled with various rumours about Robert Dudley and the Queen. All these rumours arose from the Queen being a young unmarried lady, and from the anxiety which her counsellors, the nation, and foreign nations too, felt, upon this question, viz: who, in

¹ Though it is quite impossible that Sir Walter Scott could have seen this bill, his description of Amye's dress approximates so nearly to the style of dresses mentioned in it, as to show his accurate knowledge of the costumes of the day. At the beginning of the novel, when the mercer Goldthread and Tressilian, visit Cumnor, the mercer, who had seen her first, is asked by the other: "What was her appearance, Sir?" "Oh, Sir," replied Master Goldthread, "I promise you, she was in gentlewoman's attire—a very quaint and pleasing dress, that might have served the Queen herself: for she had a forepart with body and sleeves, of ginger-coloured satin, which, in my judgement, must have cost by the yard, some thirty shillings, lined with murrey taffata and laid down and guarded with two broad laces of gold and silver. And her hat, Sir, was truly the best-fashioned thing that I have seen in these parts, being of tawny taffeta, embroidered with scorpions of Venice gold, and having a border garnished with gold fringe:—I promise you, Sir, an absolute and all-surpassing device. Touching her skirts, they were in the old pass-devant fashion."

case of her death, was to be the Successor to the Throne. It would carry me too far into the general history of the times, to recite the schemes and intrigues that were going on all around the Queen. There were princes abroad, and noblemen at home, ready to be promoted. Dudley was known to be in high favour; the Queen was believed to be really attached to him. It was therefore easy enough for idle gossip to grow into serious report: and consequently, when one man said to his neighbour that she meant to marry Dudley, that neighbour would say to the next, that, *of course* the wife would have to be got rid of. Then it was said, that she was very ill: that she had a fatal complaint, that she was to be divorced, that she was to be poisoned: that Dudley had actually given instructions for her quiet disappearance. We may imagine the effect of these horrible whisperings reaching the poor lady's ear. To any hopes that Dudley might be entertaining they would only be most damaging: because though the Queen had declared, rather pettishly, to her ministers, that "she was not going to marry a subject, or allow any one beneath her to be called My Lord's Grace," still, should she change her mind, public opinion would hardly allow a Queen of England to select for a husband a man who had caused his wife to be murdered. The last thing therefore that Dudley would wish to hear among all these untoward rumours, would be that his wife *had met* with a violent, *i.e.*, a sudden death. What took place when that news actually reached him is described in some letters, preserved (in transcript) in the Pepysian Library, at Cambridge. These have already appeared in print, but as many of you may not have met with them, and they bear rather closely upon my own narrative, I will state their substance to you as concisely as I can.

Lord Robert was at Windsor, when (it is not known how—but news travels in a marvellous way) he was informed that something was wrong at Cumnor. He immediately sent off Sir Thomas Blount, one of his confidential officers, to that place, about forty miles from Windsor, to see what was the matter. This was on Monday, 9th September, 1560. Whilst riding on his way towards Cumnor, Sir Thomas Blount meets a messenger named Bowes, who was going to Windsor with the intelligence that on the evening before, *i.e.*, of Sunday, the 8th September, Lady Dudley had been found lying on

the floor of the hall at the foot of a staircase, dead, but without any outward mark of violence. Bowes, the messenger, further told Sir Thomas Blount that on the Sunday, being Abingdon Fair-day, Lady Dudley had herself given the rather strange order that all her household should go to the Fair. Mrs. Odingsell (Mr. Hyde's sister, the lady companion, or housekeeper) remonstrated with her, that the day was not a proper day for decent folks to go to the Fair; whereupon Lady Dudley grew very angry, and said: "she (Mrs. Odingsell) might do as she pleased, but all *her* people should go:" They accordingly went, leaving in the house, so far as appears, none but the three women, Lady Dudley, Mrs. Owen and Mrs. Odingsell: for there is no mention whatever in Blount's account of the matter, of any *man* being then in or about the house. When Sir Thomas Blount had heard all this on the road, from Bowes the messenger, Bowes passed on to Windsor: and Blount, instead of going straight to Cumnor Place, stopped at Abingdon, four miles short of it; and being curious to hear what was said, puts up his horse, stays the night (Monday night), calls in the landlord, pretends that he is riding into Gloucestershire, and by way of talk asks "What news in these parts?"

Says the landlord, "There was fallen a great misfortune within three or four miles of the town. My Lord Robert Dudley's wife was dead."

Blount asked, "How was that?"

The landlord replied "By a misfortune as he heard: by a fall from a pair of stairs."¹

Blount asked, "By what chance?"

The landlord did not know.

Blount asked, "What was his judgment and the judgment of the people?"

He said, cautiously enough, "Some said well, and some said evil."

"What do *you* think?" asked Blount.

The landlord said, "He thought it must be a misfortune, because

¹ A pair of stairs, in the West of England, means a stair-case with two landings.

it happened in that honest gentleman's house [meaning Mr. Forster's]. His great honesty doth much curb the evil thoughts of the people: "i.e., Mr. Forster was so well known as a respectable man that no one would believe a crime could be committed in his house.

"Methinks," said Blount, "that some of her people that waited on her should have something to say about this?"

"No, Sir," said the landlord, "but little: for it is said they were here at the Fair and none left with her."

"How might that be?" asked Blount.

"It is said," answered the landlord, "that she rose that day very early, and commanded all her sorte to go to the Fair and would suffer none to tarry at home: which was thought a very strange thing for her to do."

The next morning, (Tuesday, 10th) Blount, having heard what was said and thought outside Cumnor, went on to the house itself, and had the same account from the lady's own maid, Mrs. Pinto. He then asked her, "What *she* thought of the matter; was it chance or villainy?" The maid answered, "By my faith, I judge it chance, and neither done by man nor by herself: for she was a good virtuous gentlewoman, and daily would pray upon her knees, and divers times I have heard her pray to God to deliver her from desperation." "Then [said Blount] she might have an evil eye in her mind?" (meaning, I presume, thought of suicide). "No, good Mr. Blount," said the maid, "do not so judge of my words. If you should so gather, I am sorry I said so much."

Blount then writes all these particulars to Dudley, adding, that since he had been at Cumnor he had heard several things which led him to think that Lady Dudley had been somewhat disordered in mind: and that a coroner's inquest was already sitting. After he had sent the messenger off, comes another from Windsor, bringing a letter, written by Lord Robert on his receiving the first news brought to him by Bowes, whom Blount had met on the road.

It has been alleged against Dudley that he shewed great indifference by not going down immediately himself. But one may look at his conduct in another light. He knew well enough that

he would be immediately suspected of having in some way led to the violent death. If he had gone down in person, his presence might probably have over-awed a country jury, and hindered them from speaking out and asking questions freely. Or it might be said that he had bribed them not to be too inquisitive. He therefore wisely staid away: but he urged, in the very strongest terms, that no pains should be spared to find out if it were done by villainy, and the guilty parties to be declared. Also that all his wife's own relations should be sent for: thus giving to her family every opportunity of fair play.

His letter (as given in Mr. Pettigrew's pamphlet) was as follows:—

“Cosin Blount.

Immediately upon your departing from me there came to me Bowes, by whom I do understande that my wife is dead, &, as he saithe, by a fall from a pair of staires. Little other understandinge can I have from him. The greatness & the suddenesse of the mysfortune doth so perplex me, untill I do heare from you how the matter standeth, or howe this evill doth light upon me, considering what the malicious world will bruyte [*i.e.*, will say] as I can take no rest. And, because I have no waie to purge myselfe of the malicious talke that I knowe the wicked worlde will use, but one, which is the verie plaine truth to be knowen, I do praye you, as you have loved me, and do tender me & my quietness, and as nowe my special truste is in you, that you will use all devises & meanes you can possible for the learning of the truth; wherein have no respect to any living person: & as by your own travell & diligence, so likewise by order of lawe, I mean, by calling of the Coroner, & charging him to the uttermost, from me, to have good regard to make choyse of no light or slight persons, but the discreetest & substantial men for the juries: such as for their knowledge may be able to search honorable & duellie, by all manner of examynacions, the bottom of the matter: & for their uprightness will earnestlie & sincearlie deale therein, without respect. And that the bodie be viewed & searched accordingle by them: and in every respect to proceede by order & lawe. In the mean tyme, cosin Blount, let me be advertysed from you by this berer, with all spede, howe the matter doth stande: for, as the cause & the manner thereof doth marvelously trouble me, considering my case many waies, so shall I not be at rest till I may be ascertayned thereof: prayinge you ever, as my truste is in you, & as I have ever loved you, do not dissemble with me, neither let anything be hid from me, but sende me your trewe conceyt and opinion of the matter, whether it happened by evill chance or villainye: and faill not to let me heare contynewallie from you. And thus fare you well. In moch hast, from Windsore, this IXth day of September in the eveninge. Your lovinge frend and kynsman, moch perplexed.

R.D.”

Lady Dudley had (as I mentioned above) a half-brother, John

Appleyard, and an illegitimate brother, Arthur Robsart. So Dudley adds, in a postscript :—

“I have sent for my brother [*i.e. brother-in-law*] Appleyarde, because he is her brother, & other of her frendes also, to be theare, that they may be previe & see how all things do procede.”

Mr. Appleyard was a Norfolk man, High Sheriff of that county the next year. Mr. Norris, and Sir Richard Blount, both of well-known Berkshire families, were also there. The jurymen were all strangers to Dudley: but such was the jealousy towards Court favourites, that there were some among them who would have been glad to connect him with the death if they could. Yet the answer sent to him was that *after the most searching enquiry they could make, they could find no presumption of evil dealing*. Sir Thomas Blount himself asked in every direction, and declared he could not find or hear of anything to make him suspect that violence had been used by any person. Lord Robert then writes to desire that a second jury of substantial honest men should be summoned: and to them he sent this message: “To deal earnestly, carefully, and truly, and to find as they shall see it fall out. And if it fall out a chance or misfortune, so to find, and if it appear villainy (as God forbid so mischievous or wicked body should live) then to find it so, and God willing, I shall never feare the due prosecution accordingly, what person soever it may appear any way to touch: as well for the just punishment of the act as for myne own trewe justification: for as I would be sorry in my heart any such evil should be committed, so shall it well appear to the world my innocency.”

Here, before proceeding, two or three remarks.

1. If he had really in any way encouraged, or connived at, a violent death, it is next to impossible that he could have faced the ordeal of inquiry in such a tone as this.

2. These letters, which passed between Dudley and Forster at the very moment, annihilate some of the common falsehoods. For example (1), Verney and Forster, (who by the way, are not even mentioned in the letters as being near the place,) are said in the slanderous narrative to have sent away all *the servants*. It was Lady Dudley's

own doing, and a very strange thing indeed for her to do. (2), The narratives say that the body was hastily buried, and that her father, Sir John Robsart, ordered it to be exhumed for the coroner. Amye's body was not buried: for the inquest was already sitting when Sir Thomas Blount arrived at Cumnor: and instead of the matter being hastily smuggled through, it was most closely inquired into, in the presence of all the lady's own friends and relatives that could be got together, under no restraint from the presence of Dudley himself. Nor could her father Sir John Robsart have given any order, for he had himself died several years before, viz., in A.D. 1553.

3. Though (as I said in the earlier part of this paper) the evidence found at Longleat does not clear up the whole mystery, still its tendency is to give a new complexion to many of the circumstances. It certainly does not present any traces of estrangement between Dudley and his wife, nor of dark arrangements for putting her out of the way.

Mr. Pettigrew (whom I mentioned as having written upon this subject) accepts the verdict of the jury, that it was pure accident. "But," he adds, "there are at the same time some circumstances that lead to a suspicion that it might have been her own act. The strange stories which Sir Thomas Blount heard from the lady's maid: Amye's prayers to be delivered from desperation and the sending all servants out of the house for the day, for them to find her dead when they returned." These circumstances lead Mr. Pettigrew to think that possibly she might for some time have been labouring under mental infirmity, and that care and seclusion in the house of friends with female companions about her, may have been desirable, instead of her appearing about the Court, where her conduct might have excited remark and have been inconvenient. I would add that the prevailing whisperings and slanders about the Queen's only waiting for her death, and that treachery was on foot against her, may, indeed must, have reached her: and it is not difficult to believe that continual suspicion of being *marked*, may have had a depressing, perhaps a fatal effect. However, after a prolonged enquiry, the jury found it mere accident. For Dudley it was

a very untoward accident: and that it *should* just happen when everybody was saying that something *would* happen was undoubtedly one of those very extraordinary coincidences which it is not easy to explain to public satisfaction. She was buried by Dudley in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, with great expense and magnificence: a number of ladies attending as mourners, followed by the University dignitaries, and Dudley's friends, some of them of the Privy Council. The expenses of the funeral are mentioned in one of the account books on the table. (*Appendix*, No. V.) The exact site of the vault had been forgotten, but it has lately been ascertained and an inscription ordered to be cut upon the top step of the three steps rising into the chancel. I observed, in an Oxford newspaper, mentioning this circumstance, that the Secretary of the Architectural Society there, in sending to the paper some extracts from an old MS. account of the funeral, says: "The more the death of Amye, Lady Dudley, is investigated the clearer does it appear that the traditional accounts are almost entirely wrong. It is a source of great regret to all lovers of historical truth that the well-known ballad of "*Cumnor Hall*," and the more famous novel of "*Kenilworth*," should serve to perpetuate historical fallacies long since proved to be false."

In that opinion I certainly agree.¹

Another favourable feature in this case is, that distinguished men of the day who were familiar with Dudley harboured no suspicion of unkind feelings on his part towards the wife of his youth. Among them particularly, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador at Paris, of a party wholly opposed to Dudley in religion, being a Roman Catholic. (*Appendix*, VI.) Also Sir Henry Sydney, father of the famous Philip. Sir Henry told the Spanish Ambassador that

¹ But I do not know whether the villagers of Cumnor will so easily give up their tradition. They used, in my Oxford days, to adhere very closely to the rumour of "foul play." The magnificent funeral had dwindled down into this legend, from the mouth of the old parish clerk, viz: That "Madame Dudley's ghost did use to walk in Cumnor Park, and that it walked so obstinately that it took no less than *nine parsons* from Oxford 'to lay her.' That they at last laid her in a pond, called 'Madam Dudley's Pond:' and moreover, wonderful to relate, the water in that pond was never known to freeze afterwards." See also Wilts Arch. Mag., i. 343.

the death "he was quite sure was accidental. He had examined into the circumstances with the greatest scruple, and could discover nothing like foul play, however the public mind was possessed with the opposite opinion." This evidence comes from *official* Elizabethan correspondence, discovered among the archives at Simancas, in Spain. At Longleat, in Wilts, I found, by the merest accident, in a most unlooked-for quarter, similar evidence, only more valuable, because *non-official*. A common letter about sending venison pasties, and apologizing for the possibly bad baking of them, is hardly a document in which one would have expected to find anything to help in forming an opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the husband of Amye Robsart. But the fact is that upon finding that first curiosity, her letter to her taylor, I scrutinized very carefully every scrap belonging to that period, in hopes of finding more. The following letter to Robert Dudley is written by Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, his brother-in-law. He was one of a few of Blood Royal who were in turn named for the Succession to the Crown in case of Elizabeth's death: being a candidate of the House of York, descended (through the Pole family) from George, Duke of Clarence, brother of King Richard III., not, as it would appear, being himself ambitious of the honour, but the nominee of a certain political party,

Lord Huntingdon's letter was written from the town of Leicester, 17th September, 1560, nine days after the death of Amye, and before the writer had heard of it. The postscript was added when the news had reached him.

Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon to Lord Robert Dudley.

"My very good Lord. After my most hartly commendations. Although I am sure you are not without plenty of Red deer, yet I am bold to send you half a dozen pies of a stag which was bred in the little garden at Ashby (de la Zouche). I would be glad to understand how the baking doth like you, for I am in some doubt my Cook hath not done his part, but you must pardon this fault, and it shall be amended: for if you love to eat of a stag, I will have one ready for you any time (I trust) this winter. It shall be as fat as any forest doth yield, & within 4 days warning he shall be sent to you. Thus my good lord and brother I take my leave, wishing to you in all things as to myself. From Leicester the 17 of Sept.

Your assured brother to the end

H. HUNTINGDON."

"As I ended my Letter, I understood by Letters the death of my Lady your

wyfe. I doute not but long before this tyme you have considered what a happy hour it is, which bringeth man from sorrow to joy, from mortality to immortality, from care and trouble to rest and quietness: & that the Lord above worketh all for the best to them that love him well. I will leave my babbling, & bid the buzzard cease to teach the falcon to fly: & so end my rude postscript."

"To my very good Lord & Brother, the Lord Robert Dudley."

On this letter I would only make one remark. It is a fair instance of the value of *private and familiar documents*. Official papers are always got up with a certain formality of preparation, to meet the public eye, or for a purpose. Here is a simple private letter, of the very time, naturally written, on an ordinary subject, not likely to meet any other eye than that of the person written to, and therefore most unlikely to contain any fictitious or misleading sentiment. Being merely a friendly message about such every-day matters as pies and a cook, it suddenly turns off, on the receipt of serious news, to a tone which would have simply been a piece of sickening hypocrisy, if the writer had ever had the faintest inkling of ill-will or ill-conduct on the part of Dudley towards his wife. If any such feeling had existed it must have been well-known to his own brother-in-law.

There would be, if we could but find it, conclusive evidence upon this mysterious story, in the written depositions taken at the coroner's inquest, and the full statements of all who were examined. Some years ago I wrote to the Coroner for the County of Berks, to know if either in his Office, or in any other depository of County Records, he could help me to recover those papers. It so happened that this gentleman (Mr. Bartlett) had himself written a book upon the very subject, a "Guide to Cumnor," and of course had used all efforts to find the original papers, but he was afraid it was now hopeless.

There remains now only one more item of evidence in Dudley's favour, found (also quite accidentally) among the old letters at Longleat. It is a very important one as bearing upon our story: and it is also another curious instance of the value of *secret* history.

One of our living Historians has taken much trouble in dealing with Dudley's case. He has had the benefit of much correspondence

and other matters newly brought to light, both among our own Records and those of Spain. He has carefully weighed and sifted all this, and though Lord Robert is apparently not one of his favourites, still, upon this particular question, Mr. Froude is, upon the whole, inclined to acquit him. But there is one particular document which has yet to be explained before the acquittal is quite satisfactory. This is in the large collection of papers at Hatfield. It appears to Mr. Froude (if not explained) to show that Dudley was not so zealous as he seemed to be: that his unhappy wife was indeed murdered, and that with proper exertion the guilty persons might have been discovered. Longleat supplies an explanation.

I asked you, a little while ago, (p. 53,) to keep in mind the name of a Mr. John Appleyard, half-brother to Amye Robsart, one of the relatives whom Dudley insisted on bringing to Cumnor to watch the proceedings at the coroner's inquest. The Hatfield document refers to this person.

In 1567, *seven* years after Amye's death, the question of Dudley's marriage with the Queen again came forward into public discussion. Of course it excited the vigilant jealousy of some, the religious or political opposition of others. The old suspicions about Amye's death were not forgotten. The substance of the Hatfield document is, that it had been reported to Cecil (in 1567) that John Appleyard had been heard, some time before, in a moment of irritation, to let fall words to this effect (for I will not detain you with the whole at length): that he, Appleyard, "had not been satisfied with the verdict of the jury at her death; but that, for the sake of Dudley, he had *covered the murder of his sister.*" Upon this being reported to Cecil, it became imperative to have the matter enquired into: so Cecil orders Appleyard's attendance, and requires him to explain, very precisely, What he had meant by those words? Appleyard explained away his words in this manner: that though he would not exactly say Dudley was himself guilty, yet he, Appleyard, had thought it would be no difficult matter to find out who the guilty parties were.

That is the substance of the only remaining paper upon which Mr. Froude appears to suspend his judgment. He says: "If Appleyard spoke the truth, there is no more to be said. The con-

clusion seems inevitable, that though Dudley was innocent of direct influence, the unhappy lady was sacrificed to his ambition, and was made away with by persons who hoped to profit by Dudley's elevation to the throne." With that remark, Mr. Froude leaves the case. "*If Appleyard spoke truth*, there is no more to be said."

It will give our eminent Historian a certain satisfaction to hear that John Appleyard told fibs: of which I can assure him, by having found the proof thereof (again, as before, by the merest accident); not in any public or official communication, but in an ordinary private letter, telling the news of the day in the most *inartificial* manner: just like that of the Earl of Huntingdon's read a few moments ago, which began about venison pasties, and ended with condolence on the news just come of the death of the wife.

The letter I now produce is one from Sir Henry Nevill to Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat House. Sir Henry Nevill was a Berkshire gentleman, a friend of Sir John Thynne, writing to him from London, an ordinary letter, of family news and the events of the day.

Sir Henry Nevill to Sir John Thynne. 1567, June 9.

"After my herty comendacyons unte yowe & my Lady, & the lyke from awll our wemen who I thanke God are awll in helthe. I hav so rare messengers that I may trust that I dare not ventewr no letters of any importance. Now, havng Ludlo, I wyll send you seehe as here are currant. *On Fryday in the Star-Chamber was Apylyeard brought forth, who showed himself a malytyous beast, for he dyd confesse he accusyd my Lord of Lecyster only of malyes*: & that he hath byn about yt thes 3 years, & now, bycause he cold not go thoroghe with his bysens [*business*] to promot, he fell in this rage ageynst my lord & wold hav acusid hym of 3 thnges: 1. *of kyllyng his wif*. 2. of sending the lord Derby in to Scotland. 3. for letting the quen from maryedge. He cravyd o: pardon for awll thes thyngs. . . . My lord keeper answeyrd that . . . in King Henry 7th dayes, there was one lost his ears for slawndering the Cheff Justyce: so as I thinke *his* end wyl be the pillry. [The letter then continues with other miscellaneous matter.]

John Appleyard's grievance against Dudley (as stated in the letter) was that Dudley had not promoted Appleyard's "business" in some way, but for three years had neglected him: whereupon Appleyard turned against Dudley and did all he could to revive the slander about the murder of the wife. What the particular "business" was that

Appleyard had expected Dudley to "promote," I do not undertake to say for certain, but it was perhaps this. I find from another original letter at Longleat that, so far back as 18th August, 1560 (the year of Amye's death), Sir Thomas Gresham had written to Lord Robert, requesting him to use his influence in obtaining for John Appleyard *the Lordship of Wyndham*, co. Norfolk, for his better maintenance in the service of Her Majesty in those parts. Probably Dudley had not done all he could to help his kinsman, and it is not unlikely that this was the disappointment that had exasperated Appleyard and had caused him to let fall his evil speeches. However, be the provocation what it might, *John Appleyard did not speak the truth*, but confessed in the Star-Chamber that he had been a *liar*. Whether this "*malytyous beast*" did or did not arrive at the pillory, and depart with the loss of his ears, I do not know, but in the opinions of Sir Henry Nevill and the Lord Chief Justice, he richly deserved it.

Such are the few particulars, hitherto wholly unknown, supplied by the Longleat Papers, on the question of Dudley's guilt or innocence in the case of Amye Robsart. They did not come ready to hand, tied up with official red tape, but were gleaned one by one, at intervals, and after patient scrutiny of a very large mass of faded and difficult handwriting. The documents and letters in which they occur, being original, contemporary, and altogether inartificial, are first-class evidence. It has not been in any way my object to draw forced conclusions from them, but simply to extract their fair bearing on this celebrated case. It may perhaps be thought that the cloud which has hung so long over Lord Robert Dudley's name in connection with it is not so dark as it was before.

I think it only right to add, in conclusion, that having had, through the friendly permission of the Marquis of Bath, the opportunity of discovering a considerable number of letters written to Robert Dudley by persons of almost every rank of life, they have left upon my mind a rather favourable impression. Those letters make allusion to his kindness, his courtesy, his accomplishments. Nothing can be more straightforward and generous than his replies, his advice, his instructions. I cannot persuade myself

that such a man, if he had been suspected of having, and much less if he really had, any direct or indirect hand in the death of Amye Robsart, would have been, as he was, within four years of her death, elected Steward of the Boroughs of *Wallingford*, *Reading*, and *Abingdon*, and CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, all within a few miles of CUMNOR PLACE.

J. E. JACKSON.

APPENDIX.

Original and Contemporary Documents.

- i. (4 Edw. VI., A.D. 1550, 24th May.) Covenant by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), to settle Cokkisford Priory, Co. Norfolk, and other lands, on his son, "Robert Duddeley, Esquyer," upon his intended marriage with Amye, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, Kt.
- ii. (1553, 1557, and 1558.) Later deeds naming Robert Dudley and Amye as husband and wife.
- iii. (1558, 1 Eliz.) Items relating to Amye, Lady Dudley, extracted from the account books of Lord Robert Dudley.
- iv. William Edney the taylor's bill to my Lord Robert's wife.
- v. (1560.) Expenses of the funeral of Amye, Lady Dudley, extracted from the accounts of Richard Ellys, steward to Lord Robert.
- vi. (1560, October 10th and 29th.) Letters from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton after Lady Dudley's death.
- vii. (1563, 20th June.) Warrant from Queen Elizabeth to deliver possession of Kenilworth Castle to Lord Robert Dudley.
- viii. (1563.) A butcher's bill to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, audited by Anthony Forster and others.

- ix. (1566.) Orders to tradesmen, signed by Anthony Forster.
- x. Letter to Anthony Forster, from Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, about preparations at Kenilworth Castle for the Lord Keeper Bacon's visit.

No. I. (p. 53.)

(4th Edw. VI., A.D. 1550, 24th May.) Covenant by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) to settle Cokkisford Priory, Co. Norfolk, and other lands, on his son, "Robert Duddleley, Esquier," upon his intended marriage with Amye, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, Kt. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"This Indenture made the xxiiijth day of May in the fowerth year of the reign of our Soverayne Lorde Edwarde the sixth by the grace of God of England Fraunce and Ireland Kinge, Defender of the faythe and in earth of the Church of England and also of Ireland the supreme head Betwene the right honorable John Earle of Warwyke, Viscounte Lysle, of the honorable order of the gartyr knight and lorde grayte Mayster of the Kinge's moost honorable householde on thone partie and Syr John Robsert knyght of thother partie Wytnesseth that the said parties bene fully condiscended and agreed that a maryage shortely upon thesenealinge hereof shalbe hadd and solempnyzed betwene Robarte Duddleley esquier one of the yonger sonnes of the said Erle and Amye Robsart daughter and heyre apparaunte to the said Syr John Robsart if the said Robarte and Amye will thereunto condiscend and agree and in consideracion of the said maryage eyther of the said parties dothe covenante and graunte to & with the other in manner and forme folowinge, that ys to say. Fyrste Whereas our saide soverayne Lorde the Kinge by his letters Patents bering date at Westminster the xxth day of Maii last past dyd amongst other things geve and graunte to the said Erle and hys heyres the reversion and reversions of all that his Soyte Cyrcuyte and Precincte of the late Pryory of Cokkysforde and of all that the manor of Cokkysforde in the countie of Norfolk with all theyre rights members & appurtenances whatsoever they were to the said Pryory lately belongynge & aperteyning & late being parcell of the possessions and revenues of Thomas late Duke of Norfolk of high treason attaynted, and of all & every the howsings buyldings gardynes orchards lands and soyle within the said Soyte & preoyncte of the said late Pryory of Cokkisforde, and of the Rectories and Churches of Est rudham West rudham Brounsthorne and Barmer & the moytie of the Rectorie of Burnham and also of the manors and farmes of Est rudham West rudham, Barmer, Tytlesale, Syddisterne Thorp market & Bradefylde with all theyre rights members & appurtenances whatsoever they be to the said late Pryory of Cokkesforde lately belonginge & aperteyning, and of the advocacion & right of patronage of the Vycarages of the said Churches of Est rudham West-rudham Brounsthorne & Barmer aforesaid & of the moytie of the advocacion of the

Vycarage of the said Church of Burneham and of all that warren of conyes called Brokelinge, and of the courses of faldage of sheep called many ewes & wether course and of one course of faldage of sheep called Warren slake with theyre appurtenances in Est rudham aforesaid, & of one other course of faldage of sheep with the appurtenances called the Gouge in West rudham aforesaid, and of all other his Grace's lands tenements & hereditaments whatsoever they were in Est rudham West rudham Brounsthorne Harpton, Folsham, Woodnorton, Hillington, Burneham, Sydesterne, Estbarsham Broughton Barmer Tatersett Tateresforde Oxwyke Tytlesale Gestwyke Lenne Regis Thorpemarkett & Brade-fylde in the said countie of Norfolk or in any of them to the said late Pryory of Cokkisforde by any manner of way belonging or apperteyning as by the same letters Patents more at large may and doth appere Hyt ys now to be knowene by these presents that the said Erle for the consyderacons aforesaid hathe gyven granted bargayned and solde and by these presents dothe clerely geve grant bargayne and sell unto the said Robarte and Amye and to the heyres of the body of the said Robarte all that his reversion and reversions of all and singler the said premisses and all his tytle & interest in to & for the same premisses & every or any parte or parcell thereof, and that the said Erle and his heyres & every of them at all tymes hereafter for and during the tyme of one hole yere next and immediatly ensuing the date of these presents shall do and suffre to be done all and every thinge & thinges act & actes which shalbe resonably devised for the more better assurance of suer conveyance of the tytle and interest whiche the said Erle hath in to & for the premysses or any parte or parcell thereof to be had made & conveyed to the said Robarte & Amye & to the heyres of the body of the said Robarte & for defalte of soche issue to the right heyres of the said Erle for ever AND that the said Erle for the consideracons aforesaid shall by good and lawfull conveyance & assurance in the law geve graunte & assure unto the saide Robarte & Amye & to the longer lyver of them one annual or yerely rent of Fyftie Pounds of good and lawfull money of England with a clause of distres for non-payment thereof to be growinge owte of the manor of Burton Lysle in the countie of Leycester & of all other his lands tenements and hereditaments in Burton Lysle foresaid. To HAVE AND PARCEVE the said yerly rent of fyftie poundes unto the said Robarte and Amye & to the longer lyver of them from the day of the said maryage solempnyed, at the Feastes of St. Mychell th' archangell and the Annuncyacon of our Lady by even poreyons for & during the lyf of the Righte excellent Prynces the Lady Marie's grace sister to the Kinge's Majestie if the said Lady Mary fortune so longe to be unmarried with this Proviso to be conteyned in the said graunte that immediatly from & after the Deathe of the said Lady Mary or that she fortune to be maryed that then & from thensforth the said graunte of the said yerly rent to be voyde & of no force in the law AND over that the said Erle covenanteth & promyseth to & with the said Syr John Robsart to pay unto the said Syr John Robsart at th enseliuge of these presents the sum of Too Hundred Powndes of good and lawfull money of England wherof the said Syr John Robsart clerly acquyteth & dischargeth the said Erle his heyres & executors by these presents AND the said Syr John Robsart covenanteth and graunteth for hym his heyres & executors to & with the said Erle his heyres & executors that he the said Syr John Robsart & the Lady Elizabeth his wife shall at the proper costs & charges in the law of the said

Erle his heyres or executors do and suffre to be done all and every soche resonable acte & actes thinge and thinges wherby the manors of Sydisterne, and Newton juxta Byreham in the countie of Norfolk, the manor of greate Byreham in the said countie of Norfolk, & the manor of Bulkham in the countie of Suffolk and all & singular those lands tenements & hereditaments accepted reputed letten knowen or taken as any parte parcell or membre of the said manors or of any parte or parcell thereof or being letten to or with any of them with theyre appurtenances being parcell of the inherytaunce of the said Syr John Robsart shall & may be conveyed to the said Syr John Robsart during his lif without impechement of any manner of waste, the rem' thereof to the said lady Elyzabeth duringe herlyf, the rem' thereof to the said Robarte & Amye and to the heyres of the body of the said Amye and for defalte of soche issue the rem' thereof to the ryght heyres of the said Syr John Robsarte for ever. AND over that the said Syr John Robsart covenanteth granteth & promyseth to & with the said Erle his heyres and executors that he the said Syr John Robsart shall well & truely during his lyf if hit fortune the said Robarte & Amye so longe to lyve, content & pay to the said Robarte yerly during the said terme the sum of Twenty Powndes of good and lawfull money of England to be paid at fower times in the yere that ys to say at the Feaste of St Mychell tharchangell, the nativitie of our Lord th annuncyacion of our lady and the natyvytie of saynt John Baptist by even porcions. AND also the said Syr John Robsart covenanteth promyseth & graunteth to & with the said Erle that yf hit shall fortune the said Robarte and Amye & the heyres of theyre too bodyes lawfully betwene them begotten or any of them to outlyve the said Syr John Robsart and the lady Elizabeth his wife that then the said Robarte & Amye & the heyres of theyre too bodyes or one of them shall after the decesse of the said Syr John Robsart & the lady Elizabeth have and enjoy of the fre gifte will and legacie of the said Syr John Robsart the nombre of Thre Thowsand Shepe to be left in a stokke goinge on the premisses in Norfolk & Suffolk foresaid. IN WYTNES wherof to thone parte of these presents remayning with the said Erle the said Syr John Robsart hath put his seale, and to thother parte remayning with the said Syr John Robsart the said Erle hathe put his seale the day and yere fyrste above wrytten.

J. WARWYK."

[A large seal: but arms and legend utterly effaced.

In an official hand underneath: "Capt' et recognita coram me Ricardo Standish vicesimo quarto die mensis Maii et anno Regni Regis suprascripto."]

No. II. (p. 54.)

(A.D. 1553, 1557, and 1558.) Later deeds naming Robert Dudley and Amye as husband and wife. (*Original at Longleat.*)

HAMESBY, Co. Norfolk. 7 Edw. VI. (1553), 4th February. [*Endorsed.*] "The counterpayne of a deade made by the Duke of Northumberland to my Lord and my Lady of the Manor of Hemesbye."

[The original is in Latin. Translated, and in brief, it is thus :]

"To all the faithful in Christ, &c., John, Duke of Northumberland, Earl Marshal of England, and Great Master of the Household of our Lord the King, greeting. Whereas by Letters Patent, 21st November, 6 Edw. VI., the King granted to him the manor of Hamesby lately belonging to the Cathedral Church of Norwich and the Church and Patronage of the Vicarage of Hamesby, with all rights, ('nativos et nativas et villanos cum eorum sequelis') &c. To have, &c., to the said Duke and his heirs for ever: paying to the crown yearly £4 8s. 7d. for the manor, and 22s. for the Rectory, into the Court of Augmentations. Know ye that I have given and granted the said manor, &c., to *Robert Dudley, Lord Dudley, my son and the Ladie Amie his wife*. To have and to hold the same to them and the heirs of the body of the said Robert lawfully begotten, to the use of the said Robert Dudley, Amie his wife and heirs of his body, &c. Know also that I have appointed my beloved in Christ, John Robsart, Knight, my attorney to deliver the same to the said Robert Dudley and the Lady Amie his wife.

NORTHUMBERLAND."

[Seal of eight quarterings within the garter.]

SYDISTERNE, Co. Norfolk. 30th January, 3 & 4 Philip and Mary (1557).

"Whereas John Robsart, Kt., *lately deceased*, was seised of Sydisterne, Newton juxta Byrcham, and Great Byrcham, remainder to his wife Elizabeth, remainder to *Robert Dudley and Amie his wife*, daughter and heir apparent of said John, remainder to issue of Robert and Amia, rem' to right heirs of John Robsart: which manor of Sydisterne, &c., Elizabeth since the death of John now holds, &c."

[From original Patent.]

HALES OWEN, Co. Salop. 1558, 24th March (4 and 5 Philip and Mary).

"A license of Alienation from Philippe and Marye] to *Sir Robert Dudley and Amye his wief*, to alienate Hales Owen to Thomas Blount."

Ditto. 27th March.

"A counterpane of the Sale of Hales-Owen passed from *Sir Robert Dudley and Amye his wief* to Thomas Blounte and George Tooky."

No. III. (p. 64.)

Items relating to Amye (Robsart) Lady Dudley, extracted from the account books of Lord Robert Dudley. (*Original at Longleat.*)

Gyven to Gowre for hys charge riding into Lincolnshire to <i>my ladie</i>	xxs.
Paid his hyer of certen haknes [<i>hacknies</i>] for <i>my ladie</i>	lxi ^s .
Item to John Forest for his charge Ryding to Mr. Hide's to <i>my ladye</i>	iii ^s . iiiij ^d .
For Gower for <i>my Lady</i> , coming out of Lincoln	xxvi ^s . viiiij ^d .
To Johans for riding to Mr. Hide's to <i>my lady</i>	iii ^s . iiiij ^d .
To Mr. Blunt's horsehier when he rode to <i>my lady</i> in the Christmas	6 ^s . 8 ^d .
To Johnes for <i>my lady</i>	66 ^s . 8 ^d .

To hier of xil horses when <i>my lady</i> came from Mr. Hide's to London	60 ^s .
Item to Langham for 2 days bordwages attending upon <i>my lady</i> at Christchurch, y ^e Lordship being at Windsor	3 ^s . 4 ^d .
To Thomas Johnes and his fellowes for their dynners, weyting uppon <i>my lady</i> from Christchurch to Camerwell	3 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item; for my bote-hier to London about the despatch of <i>my lady</i>	8 ^d .
Item; for a trunke saddell with y ^e appurtenances for carrying of <i>my ladie's</i> apparel	20 ^s .
To Thos. Johnes to buy a hooode for <i>my lady</i>	xxxv ^s .
To Gilbert y ^e Gouldsmith for 6 doz. Gould buttons of y ^e Spanish pattern, and for a littell cheyne delivered to Mr. Forrest for <i>my lady's</i> use	£xxx
To Mr. Virloe for lynnenn cloath for <i>my lady</i>	51 ^s .
— Two ell of fine Holland for to make <i>my lady</i> ruffes	12 ^s .
— 2½ ells of Russet taffata to make <i>my lady</i> a gowne at 13 ^s . 4 ^d . an ell	35 ^s .
Item, paid to Eglamby for <i>my lady's</i> charge from Mr. Hide's to Camberwell	£10
Item, delivered for <i>my lady's</i> charge riding into Suffolk: with xl pistoles [<i>a Spanish coin</i>] delivered to Hogans to put into <i>her Ladyship's</i> purse	£26 13 ^s . 4 ^d .
1559. For sewing silk sent to <i>my lady</i> by Mr. Forster	4 ^s .
For apparel sent to <i>my lady</i> and for the charges of Higgenes, her man, lying in London	60 ^s .
For bringing venison to Mr. Hide's	5 ^s .
Item: ii pair of hose sent to <i>my lady</i> by Sir Richard Verney's servant	8 ^s .
Item. for spices bought by the cook when your Lordship rode to <i>my lady's</i>	22 ^s .
1559. For a looking glass sent to <i>my lady</i> by Mr. Forster	4 ^s .
To Smyth the mercer for 6 yards of velvet at 43 ^s . a yard: and 4 yards to the Spanish taylor for your Lordship's doublet: and 2 yards for garding <i>my lady's</i> cloak	112 ^s . 6 ^d .

The following items, under the head of "Play money," show that Lord Robert was frequently visiting at Mr. Hyde's:—

To Mr. Hide which he lent your Lordship at play at his own house	40 ^s .
Delivered to your Lordship at Mr. Hide's at <i>sundry times</i> ; by my hands 20 ^s .: by Hugans 11 ^s . and by Mr. Aldersey 28 ^s .	Total 67 ^s .

No. IV. (p. 67.)

William Edney the taylor's bill to my Lord Robert's wife. Her letter to Edney was found *pinned* within it. (*Original at Longleat.*)

Willm Edney	To my Lorde Robarte Dudles wyffe*	£ s. d.
Imprimis, for makynge a lose gowne of satten byassed wythe lace all over the garde		20 0

* This bill, as appears at the foot of it, was not paid till five years after her death.

	£	s.	d.
„ for iiij yards of cotton at viij ^d . the yarde		2	8
„ for iij yards of Fustyane at x ^d . the yarde		2	6
„ for vj ounces of theine lace at 2 ^s . 8 ^d . th' ounce	16	0	
„ for iiij yards of pointinge ribbin		10	
„ for frese and buccarome to the roffes and collar		10	
„ for iij ounces of silke to set on the lace ; at xx ^d . the ounce		5	0
„ for makynge a rownde kyrtell of rossett wrought velvet wyth a fringe		2	0
„ for ij yards and a $\frac{1}{2}$ of Kersay at 3 ^s . 4 ^d . the yard	8	4	
„ for linnen clothe to the placarde		8	
„ for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of rosset fringe at 2 ^s . 8 ^d . the oz.	6	0	
„ for makynge a lowse gowne of Damaske, laced all thicke overthwart the garde	20	0	
„ for iiij yards of cotton at viii ^d . the yarde		2	8
„ for iij yards of Fustayne at x ^d . the yarde		2	6
„ for iiij yards of pointinge ribbin		10	
„ for vi ounces of theine lace at 2 ^s . 8 ^d . the ounce	16	0	
„ for iij ounces of sylke to the same		5	0
„ for fryse and buccarome to the roffes		10	
„ for makynge a rownde kyrtell of sattin		4	0
„ for ij yards of kersaye at 3 ^s . 4 ^d .	6	8	
„ for linnen clothe		8	
„ for ij ounces of theine lace		5	8
„ for sylke to the same		12	
Reste of my olde bill	13	4	

summa. vii. iiij.

All these parcels abowve recevyd of Mr. Grise to make,
and delivered frome me to Mr. Gryse agene made.

„ for makynge a clothe, and an aprone	viii.	0
„ for vi ounces of theine lace wythe purles on eche side the edge at 3 ^s . the ounce	18	0
„ for sylke to set it on		2 6
„ for pointinge ribbin to the same		12
„ for lace to the toppe of the aprone		4
„ for 3 quarters of an ell of sarsnet to face it	6	0
„ for makynge a petecote of skarlet, wythe a brode garde of velvet, stitched with viij stitches	4	0
„ for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an oz. of crimson grayne silke	2	3
„ for fyne Lennen clothe to the Bodyce	1	4

sum: ix. vii. v.

Imprimis, for makynge a Spanyshe gowne of rosset damask	16	0
„ for vi ounces of lace at 4 ^s . 8 ^d . the ounce	28	0
„ for sylke to the same		4

	£	s.	d.
for vi yards of Fustiane to lyne the gowne bag and staye		5	
for 4 yards of rosset pointinge ribbin			10
for 12 ounces of rosset fringe at 2 ^s . 8 ^d . the ownce	32	0	
for Frese and buccarome to the roffes		8	
for makynge a rownde kyrtell of blacke velvet, cut all over, and fringed	2	0	
for an ell and $\frac{3}{4}$ of doble sarsnet at 8 ^s . the ell	14	0	
for 2 oz. and $\frac{1}{2}$ of fringe at xxij ^d . th' ownce	4	7	
(p ^d .) for the cuttinge of the same kyrtell	6	8	
for iij yards and $\frac{1}{2}$ of fustayne to lyne the kyrtell	4	0	
for makynge a lose gowne of rosset taffeta	8		
for vi yards of Fustayne to lyne the same gowne	5	10	
for sylke to the same	3	4	
for viii yards of pointing ribbin	2	0	
for frese and buccarome to the roffes		8	
for a $\frac{1}{4}$ of sarsnet to drowe owte the sleeves	2	6	
for makynge a pere of whit satten sleeves	2	6	
for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an oz. of silver lace	5	0	
for sylke to the same		8	

All these parcels above receyved of Mr. Grice, to make,
and delivered frome me to Mr. Grise agene, made
sum xvi. xv. viii.

for makynge a petecote of skarlet, with bodyce and stockes of crimson velvet	10	0
for ij ounces of grayne silke	6	8
for Linnen clothe to the Bodyce and stocke	2	0
for making a round kyrtle, the foreparte of velvet with a fringe of blacke sylke and golde	2	8
for iij yards of Fustiane	3	4
for making a lose gowne of rosset taffeta, the v th of July with 3 gards and 6 theine stripes the gard, cut and stript and truste with sarsnet	18	0
for sylke to the same	5	0
for vi yardes of Fustiane	5	10
for frece and buccorome to the roffes and collar	12	
for 5 yards of pointing ribbin	14	
for new translatynge the collar of your velvet gowne w th gold fringe *	2	6
for makynge a mantle of clothe for the <i>chife</i> <i>morner</i>	6	8

* This "new translatynge the collar of the velvet gown" after the pattern of the "rosset taffata" gown, is probably the item to which Amye's letter to her taylor refers,

	£	s.	d.
„ for makynge the slope, hood and tippit		5	0
	sum: xx. v. vi.		
Imprimis. for makynge a Spanyshe gowne of velvet, w th			
a fringe of blacke sylke and golde		8	0
„ for vi yards of Fustayne to lyne the gowne		6	10
„ for 4 yards of pointinge ribbin to the vents		12	
„ for fryse and bocarum to the roffes		8	
„ for $\frac{1}{2}$ a yard of sarsnet to lyne the for-slyves			
and coller		3	0
„ for makynge a lose gowne of damaske guarded			
byasse		20	0
„ for iiij yards of cotton		2	8
„ for ij yards of Fustayne		2	1
„ for ij ounces of theine lace		16	0
„ for silke to the same		3	4
„ for iiij yardes of pointinge ribbin		10	
„ for fryse and bocerome to the roffes		8	
	sum total £9 65 ^s . 1 ^d .		

These ij last parsells, Rec^d. to make, frome Mr. Elis
and delyvered to hym agayne mayd.

The hole some of all theyis bylls comes to £23 10^s. 7^d.

	£	s.	d.
Rec ^d . in part of payment of this hole byll,			
by the hands of Mr. Elis	10	0	0
Rest deue of this byll, the sum of	13	10	7

[In the writing of *John Dudley* as follows:]

In consideration of his long forbearing
of his money, there is nothing abated of Ex^d. per nos.
his Byll. Jo: D:

Which said some of thirteen poundes ten shillings
and sevenpence remayne due to the said Will^m. Edney
by the right honorable Th' Erle of Leicester, for all
manner of *mournings* and other demands, from the
beginning of the world till this xxvth of Februarie,
Anno Octavo Elizabeth Regine.

THO. BLOUNT.
JOHN DUDDELEY.
WILLM. KYNATT.

WYLLYAM EDNEY.

No. V. (p. 74.)

(A.D. 1560.) Expenses of the funeral of Amye, Lady Dudley, ex-
tracted from the accounts of Richard Ellys, steward to Lord
Robert. (*Original at Longleat.*)

	£	s.	d.
To Anthony Forster the 16th Sept. [1560] £140 and paid unto him			
the 26th day af October £170	summa	310	0 0
To Jasper the joyner uppon his billes		11	10 6
Paid unto Garter, Clarencues, and other of the herraudes [<i>heralds</i>]			
for theyre paynes about my <i>ladie's</i> funerales at Oxforth		56	16 8

	£	s.	d.
Item unto Richard Whetell, stapler, 23 Oct. for the Redeamyng of a Dyamond of <i>my Ladies</i>	25	6	8
Unto Robert Cooke, herraund, by your Lordship's commandment	10	0	0
Paid for a Parryes head [<i>Paris hood</i>] with other furnytüre, for the chieff morner, at <i>my Ladye's</i> Buryal	2	10	2
Item for apparrell [<i>viz. a shroud</i>] for <i>my lady</i> and for the charges of Hyggenes her man lying in London for the same [<i>i.e., burial</i>]	3	0	6
Item, p ^d . for mayling corde for clothe that was sent unto Oxforthe		1	6
Item unto carryers that carryed the s ^d . packs to Oxfurthe	2	0	0
Item, paid for th' exchange of one hundreth pounds of whight monney into goold w ^h . was sent to Oxfurthe for the charge of the buryall		16	8
To Clarendieux and other the herraundes for theare paynes-taking at <i>my Ladies</i> buryall; in reward to them	5	0	0
To Jennings, Mr. Whittle's servaunt for his bote-hier and paynes in coming to Kewe to take measure of your lordship [<i>i.e. for mourning</i>]	0	3	4
For Ellis [the steward] a pair of black hose to morne in	1	2	0
For Mr. Browshill the same	1	2	0

No. VI. (p. 74).

Letters from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador at Paris, upon hearing of Lady Dudley's death.

(*State Papers.*)

A.D. 1560, October 10th. *Throckmorton to Lord Robert Dudley.*

"My very good Lord. By letters from my friend at your lordship's commandment Mr. Killigrew, of the 20th of the last, which I received the 7th of this present, I understand of the cruel mischance late happened to my lady your late bedfellow, to your discomfort. But for that God hath thus disposed of things, the greatest of your grief by this time being assuaged and the remembrance thereof presently worn out, I will no further condole with your L^{ty} thereby to renew your grief, but only say that as we be all mortal, subject to many hazards (experience daily sheweth) and have no sure abiding in this unequal world, so is she gone before whither we must all follow to a place of more assurance and more quiet than can be found in this vale," &c., &c.

[*State Papers, Eliz. For. 19., f. 171.*]

1560, October 29th, *Throckmorton to Chamberlain.*

"My friends advertise me from home that my Lord Robert's wife is dead and hath by mischance *broken her own neck*, and here it is openly bruited by the French that her neck *was broken*, with such other appendances I am withal brought to be weary of my life. I pray God, hold his holy hand over us, and so evil be the reports as I am ashamed to write them. But as you are a wise man and can consider how much it importeth the Queen's Matie's honour and her realm to have the same ceased, so I trust you will by your letters thence as I do from hence help to do some good for the appeasing of the same. For though

there be wise men at home who know what is meet to be done in such cases, yet the advertisement thereof from ministers abroad hath a great deal more force. Which I write unto you because then we be both in one ship and then the tempest must touch us both alike."

[*State Papers, Eliz. For 19, f. 411.*]

No. VII. (p. 54.)

(1563, 20th June.) Warrant from Queen Elizabeth to deliver possession of Kenilworth to Lord Robert Dudley. (*Translated from the original Latin document at Longleat.*)

"Elizabeth, Dei Gratia, &c., &c. Omnibus, &c. Appoints our beloved subjects Thos. Blunt, John Sommerfield, John Blunt, John Braddyll, Wm. Hudson and Alexander Rigby, our Attornies, together or separately to enter in our name into our *Domain* and Manor of *Kenelworth*, and into our *Castle of Kenelworth*, and Farm of our Manor of *Astelgrove* in our Co. of Warwick, parcel of the possession of our ancient Duchy of Lancaster in our said Co., and into all build-ings, &c., within the circuit of our Castle of Kenelworth; also the mill outside the Castle, and all lands, &c., &c., &c. Also into *Lathgram* in our Co. of Lancaster, and *Windhill* in Bowland, and tenements in *Ashley*, in our said Co. of Lancaster lately belonging to a Chantry founded in the Chapel of Clithero, in the parish of Whalley, Co. Lancaster. And to deliver possession of all afore-mentioned to John Duddleley, Wm. Glasher, or Roger Shurburne, attornies appointed by our well-beloved counsellor, *Robert Duddleley, Kt.*, of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, otherwise called Lord Robert Duddleley, Master of our Horse, to receive possession of the same in his name and to the use of him and his heirs and assigns for ever. To have and to hold the same by virtue of Letters Patent under our Great Seal of England, and under our Seal of our Duchy of Lancaster, dated 9th June, 5th year of our Reign.

Witness ourselves at Westminster, 20th June, 5th Eliz."

[Endorsement on the Warrant.]

"Possession and seisin of the Domain, Castle, and Messuages within-described was given and delivered by Wm. Hudson, one of the within-written attorneys to John Duddleley, to the use of the within-written Robert Dudley, Kt, of the most noble Order of the Garter, otherwise called Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Queen's Horse, by virtue of a letter of attorney given by the said Lord Robert D. to the said John Duddleley and others, on the 29th day of June, 5 Eliz (1563): in view and presence * of

Robert Cooke als Chester
Herald of Arms

Humfre Gower

Robert Shere

Thomas Duddleley
By me George Raufe
Richard Fowler
Be me Wm. Braband
John Bland

* In the original, the names are all separately written or *marks* made, by the subscribers themselves, not in regular columns, but scattered all over the parchment, where each could find room for his name.

Thomas Gower
John Butler
Wyllyam Corpson
Wyllyam Quayne
Thomas Jenks
John Banbury
Lawrence Heath
Richard Wyllkyns
Lawrence Phyppet
Willyam Tasworth
Richard Harrison
Martyn Le
Thomas Tayllor
Jhon Rodd
Richard Lapwith
Willus Rogers

Thomas Whithed
Roger Preffeld
John Charmier
William Sothing [?]
Nicholas Hart
Willam Man
Thomas Flowson
Wylliam Tysell
Thomas Payne
Thomas Brydge [?]
Thomas Partridge
D B G
Robert Cope
Tomas Massye
William Browne
George Myers

Richard Sewell
Wm. Power
Robert Grafton
Henry Tyner
Henry Davies
Henry Mawdick
John Yardley
William Parson
John Harper
Robert Hudson
Thomas Hoper
Thomas Porsse [?]
John Overton
Thomas Skayls
Frevyle Phyppet
Thomas Mawde

Seisin & delivery of the Lands in the
Co. of Lancaster, was made in the view
& presence of

John Braddyll
Willyam Bollen
Robert Swynythurst
John Hawe

Miles Parker
Thomas Colthurst
John Dymmoke
Robert Craven

No. VIII. (p. 59.)

A butcher's bill to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, audited by
Anthony Forster and others. (*Original at Longleat.*)

John Ambrye	} Upon the accompt of John Ambrye of Westm ^r .	} xv th .
Bocher		
Bocher taken the xiiij th oft Februarie Anno		}
Octavo Elizabeth Regine Before us, yt appereth		
that my lorde of Leicester is indebted to the said		
John Ambrye for suche stuffe as he the said		
Ambrye hath delivered to his L. officers in Anno		
Tercio quarto and Quinto Elizabeth Regine pre-		}
dict', all things received and allowed to him from		
the begynnyng of the world till this said xiiij th		}
of Februarie in the some of Fyftene poundes		

by me John
Ambri

Ex ^r . per nos	{	THO: BLOWNTT
		ANTHO: FORSTER
		GEORGE CHRYSTMAS
		JOHN DUDDELEY
		WILLM. KYNATTT

No. IX. (p. 59.)

Orders to tradesmen, signed by Anthony Forster. A.D. 1566.
(*Original at Longleat.*)

"Mr. Pecoock I pray you delyver to thys berer foure elles of blak taffata for a shorte gowne and thre yards of blak vellet to gard the same whyche gowne my lord dothe gyve to Mr. Smythe the quenes man. and also iij yards quarter of crymsen satten for a dublet whyche my lord gyvythe to the *Mayre of Abyngton* and vij yards di' of blak satten for ij dubletts whyche my lord gyvythe to ij of the mayres brethern of the towne of Abyngton. thys hartely fare you well. thys xvi of May 1566.

y^{rs} ANTHO: FORSTER."

"M^{rs}. Mountagewe I pray you deliver to this berer my Lords hosyer so moch crymsyne fringe and lace as will tryme a paire of crymsyne hose, for *Mr. Phillipe Sidney* and so moch purple as will tryme a paire of carnacon stammell hose * and also so moch blewe and grene lace as will tryme ij payre of Lether hose. Thus fare ye well. Wryten the second of August 1566.

yo^r. frinde

ANTHO: FORSTER."

"M^{rs}. Mowntagew wher as you have delyvered to Mr. Bull on[e] gross of poynts and viij armyng poynts thys is yo^r warrant for the delyvery of the same whyche were delyvered thys progres at the *quenes beyng at Kyllingworthe*. fare you well thys xxij of december 1566.

yo^r. very friend

ANTHO: FORSTER."

No. X. (p. 59.)

Letter to Anthony Forster, from Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, about preparations at Kenilworth for the Lord Keeper Bacon's visit.

"Foster

I wylled Ellys to speak with you and Mr. Spinola againe for that I perceaved that he hath word from Flaunders that I can not have such hangings thence as I loked for, for my dynyng chamber at Killingworth yet he thought ther wold very good be had at this present in London and as good cheap as in Flaunders. Palmer's wyfe told me at Hatfeld that she was offred very good for xj^s. or xij^s. a nell. In any wise deale with Mr. Spinola hereabout for [he] ys abel to gett such stuff better cheap than any man. and I am suer he wyll doe his best for me. And though I cannot have them so depe as I wolde yet yf they be large of wydenes and xij or xiiij foote hygh hit shall suffice. I pray you lett

* "Stamell, a coarse kind of red, inferior to scarlet."—Nares's Glossary.

me hear further what can be done herein. You might send to Killingworth for them Juylle on Sondag night or Monday at furthest. I hope you have made the provision of spice for me and have had the offycers of the howsehold to help, who promysed me all at the Q. Ma^{ties} pryce. And by cause my L. Keeper wylbe with me this next weke I pray you send down with speed some such spyce as ys nedeful for all other matters agaynst my chefest day.

I have no mystrust of your care of such things as ys to be sent thether. I have geven this berer xiiⁱⁱ to buy Tryfles withall for fyer works and such like. When he hath provyded his stuff, cause yt to be safely sent hereafter for that I have appoynted him after iiij or v days to go to Killingworth for a bankating howse that must be made. I have no leysure as you may see by my hast. Yf I forgett that you may judge meet to be thought on for thys present, I referr yt to your further order. So fare you well Anthony, in much hast, this xvj of July.

y^r. loving m^r.

R. LEYCESTER."

"To my loving Servant
Anthony Foster with
speed."

Letters Patent of Edward the Fourth,

CREATING THE CHANCELLORSHIP OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND
APPOINTING RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, AS FIRST
CHANCELLOR.

A.D. 1476.

[Communicated by JAMES HUSSEY, Esq., and extracted from a confirmation by King Edward VI., in the first year of his reign, of the several charters of liberties granted to the Bishop, preserved in the Muniment Room of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the City of New Sarum, by permission of the Mayor and the Town Clerk.]

"Inspeximus Literas patentes Domini Edwardi nuper Regis Angliæ quarti factas in hæc verba.

Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy d'angletere et de ffrance, et Seigneur Hirland a toutz ceulx qui ces patentes verront ou orront salut. Come entre le offices de nostre ordre de la gartiere Il ny ait nul office de Chauncelleir par les